



THE EMPEROR OF AMERICA—“Yes, Dear Napoleon, both of us are good Republicans.”

Last Glimmers of the Chicago Grand Old Pachyderm Meet

Hunting for a Trick

The practical confession that they could not put their man over, and the Taft trainers were afraid that they could not put their man over, to both sides stopped all proceedings until the one the other could think of a trick that it might get away with.

The Roosevelt managers saw that they could not hit upon a man that they could substitute for their large grizzled champion of the golf course, and thus gave their faces to the wall.

All day long they wrangled with that problem, meantime giving out the idea that their mighty minds were really occupied with questions of state and matters of policy.

They went around to the stables and examined all the dark horses and didn't find one to suit.

The Cummings boomers trotted him out, and he was sent to the rear in short order.

Not sound on the tariff, you know. Just try to imagine Murray Cramm and the other beneficiaries of the wooden schedule accepting anybody that had questioned that sacred institution. Not on your life.

They trotted out Sunday next and looked him over and came to the conclusion that he was a long and not well broken. Nobody could tell what he might do. Mightn't say hitched, for one thing. The first consideration about all these entries was that they should be docile to the interests. Now Hadley's trainers were ready to swear that he would be docile and obey the whip and spur and all that, but the question was whether he would be docile enough. Would he take all his orders from his owners? And that careful manager Senator Penrose, who has his own reasons for taking no chances, finally decided that there was nothing doing so far as Hadley was concerned.

That old-time favorite in the three-minute class, Charles Evans Hughes, was the next considered, and for a time seemed to be regarded with great favor. It was recalled that he had twice been entered in the New York state meet by Thomas F. Ryan, who is well known as the most judicious

They Will and They Won't. The situation when night fell was not, and that he would give up the fight to the end; also that his supporters were wavering and were determined never to give in.

Teddies Grasp at Non-Partisan Straw. The tape for the big get-away next August. That's the idea right now. It doesn't matter much what your past history or previous condition of servitude may have been. You'll get a warm welcome with the Teddies if you have good lungs and a fair imitation of a fighting face.

There are all manner of rumors about who may be picked to travel with T. R. in this latest venture, this freshest imaginary sweepstakes. There's Bryan and Johnson of California, and Woodrow Wilson. If he isn't captured before that time, and then there's Bryan and—Oh, well, almost anything can make the people think he's got the goods and is a blown-in-the-bottle obstreperous firebrand.

Around the edge of things stand a few people who think and try to get to the bottom of

Socialist Tax Commissioner Boosts Gas Company Tax

Twelve million dollars was the tax valuation placed on the property of the Milwaukee Gas Light company in Milwaukee county by the tax assessors of Milwaukee and of seven towns and villages surrounding at a meeting in the offices of the tax commissioner in the city hall Thursday morning.

The resolution to fix this figure was made by William M. Langen, assessor in the Twelfth ward, and it was carried by a vote of 29 to 2, Charles C. Mayhew, assessor in the Eighteenth ward, and the assessor of West Milwaukee alone voting against it.

The valuation fixed is \$1,250,000 more than that of a year ago. The amount of the total apportioned to the city of Milwaukee is \$11,711,400.

Sheldon J. Glass, general manager of the Milwaukee Gas Light company, protested against the increased assessment of \$1,500,000 for the gas company, asserting that it would have to be paid by the consumers in the end.

"We are going to earn our regular dividend," he said, "and if you make us pay \$250,000 this year we add to \$1,500,000, which was approximately what it was last year. It will only mean that the people will pay the difference. What we wish to do is to increase our business without extra burdens to such an extent that

the game. They understand that all the delay of yesterday and this morning is but a snail on the part of the Taft leaders and the Teddies leaders who are up in the air and don't want the machinery to start until they have the belts and gears adjusted to their speed.

They know that the whole show in the Congress is but a game, a snail to get the goods of the American people, and they are not falling precipitately for the bungo artists. They see the voting marks and they see the wires and the chairs and they are disgruntled.

Regarding a new party plan there are a whole generous heap of good, honest fellows who have seen far enough into the industrial and political muddle to know that both the present old parties are rotten and helpless, bound and gagged by the interests. They really want a new party that will be progressive and that will give them constructive programs without going too far.

They are radicals, but not sure enough in their radicalism or well enough grounded in their political economy and industrial philosophy to get into the Socialist party where they belong. But they are honest chaps and they want to get on the way to somewhere—so they are falling in this way.—Milwaukee Leader.

Mr. Taft loves judges. He believes that their judgments are such as just God renders in heaven. He is conventional of mind. No disturbing ideas are permitted to enter—no heresies find root therein. His mind is as free from doubt as a well kept garden patch is free from weeds. When he meets with a problem that has to deal with economic conditions which he cannot understand or fathom, he shifts the responsibility onto God and resumes the even tenor of his way.—Milwaukee Leader.

At noon today it looks, to a man up a tree as if the Teddies party staff would cross the tape for the story. After that, nobody knows. So far as Teddy himself is concerned, of course any thoughtful person knows he is bluster and blaff and is labeled by the biggest of the world's money powers. But the Teddies are frenzied today and they don't see that far. Let 'em go, every little advertising starts somebody's brain going.

Commission Government (Continued from 1st page.)

bill: if it sees fit, pass the ordinance within 30 days. If not, the proposition goes to a referendum at the next regular election. Regular elections are held every two years.

THIRD—For a special election twenty-five per cent of the votes cast are required for signers. To give you an idea what this means, I will refer back to the time when a petition was circulated to present for adoption of the Commission Government to the people. At that time a "twenty-five per cent" petition only required a thousand signers. It took very near three months to get the required number and then by having petitions in almost every confectionery store on Tower Avenue.

Under the Commission law all offices (including those formerly elected) are apportioned by the commissioners. The commissioners have the power to hire and discharge whoever they see fit regardless of their qualifications. Here again we see the game of politics played in Superior. Political plums were handed out. Even going so far as to discharge an efficient ward foreman to replace him with a Democrat. The city clerk received his job because he prostituted his union faith in order to pull votes for the present election.

Franchisees are still granted as "provided for in existing laws." The people have nothing to say. This alone ought to show the mockery of the initiative. The board of education is more easily packed under this system of "centralized" power than ever before. You will realize what this means, when I say that three years ago the present mayor through his little one-horse paper demanded the system of education in the public schools and ended his articles with a copy of the parochial schools. This of course was a shrewd political move as he was looking for the "parochial" vote.

I think I have shown you that a machine is just as effective under the Commission Government as under the ward system.

Now as to other claims. Robert Owen, in a speech before the United States senate said: "Citizens at large nominate men who would not be nominated by the ward system and thus narrow and unscrupulous men are presented from so easily entering the ward system."

Who was elected in Superior? For many years a Democrat who has been running for office for the past twenty years. He has played the game of dirty politics during this time. Twice he ran for mayor on the Democratic ticket and was defeated. Then in August he announced himself as a Progressive Republican. Now he is a non-partisan and "always did believe in such."

One of the councilmen, a Democrat, twice served as mayor of the city. During his administration franchises were granted and all other things that make up the prerequisites of an old party politician.

The other councilman has served two terms in the old city council and can his votes as an old party man should.

These men were all backed up, quietly of course, by an organization that has been in existence since the reformation. In the case of one of them it has been generally rumored that a brewery company furnished the necessary for an election. All of these men represent but one interest.

Under the ward system, I admit, it was possible for the same thing to happen, but yet it was easier for the other factions to be represented.

Proportional representation in cities seems to me proper, as then all fac-

National Socialist Campaign Begins on July 1

By National Socialist Press.

CHICAGO, Ill.—Twelve big Social meetings to be held in different parts of the country on July 1, are planned to get the national Socialist campaign now opened under their heads.

After the number of speakers is to be increased gradually as the campaign continues.

Such men as Congressmen Victor L. Berger, Charles Edward Russell, William D. Haywood, James F. Carey, John Harriman, Morris Hillquit, Mayor Lewis J. Duncan of Butte, Mont., and Max S. Hayes will be among those to enter the fight.

The committee decided to put two or three women speakers in every state where a suffrage campaign is on. There are five states which will vote on the question of woman suffrage this fall. The Socialists will be conspicuous in the fight.

Over 10,000 stereopticon slides of the Socialist candidates for president and vice president are to be circulat-

ed. A great demand for these is expected, as many theaters have already offered to run the pictures of the workers' candidates, others containing Socialist epigrams are also to be distributed.

About 500,000 lithographs of Debs and Seidel are to be broadcast over the country. This will be an increase of 420,000 over the number used in the campaign four years ago.

In addition to the slides and lithographs, every sort of advertising novelty will be issued by the committee, such as kites, paper weights, drinking cups, etc.

Requests for 250 definite dates, for either Debs or Seidel, have been received up to the present time by the campaign manager. There has also been more than 200 requests for the candidates for any time before election.

After Debs' tour dates, at the end of June, in Maine and Vermont, he will rest until Sept. 1, when he will start on his tour which will last till

G. O. P. TRUE TO ITSELF

With William H. Taft its nominee for president, the Republican party will enter the national campaign under its true colors and with a candidate whose training, class environment, and mode of thought make him a fitting leader of a political organization devoted to the task of conserving the existing economic system.

Mr. Taft is a good man. Senator Dolliver said that he is a good man surrounded by a body of men who know what they want. That is a definition that might be applied to all our Democratic and Republican statesmen that are not moved by corruption.

Government as it is now exists is an instrument of the exploiting class. The laws are enacted and applied with the idea of conserving the institution of private profit. Government responds to the great propertied interests precisely as a well drilled orchestra responds to its leader.

Could a man be found in the Republican party who is better qualified to serve as its candidate for president than William H. Taft? He is a good man. He is an honest man. He plays the game fair and does not leave his backers in the lurch. He is no demagogue who stirs up popular resentment against the Christian gentlemen to whom the coal fields and other resources and instrumentalities of production have been entrusted.

Mr. Taft loves judges. He believes that their judgments are such as just God renders in heaven. He is conventional of mind. No disturbing ideas are permitted to enter—no heresies find root therein. His mind is as free from doubt as a well kept garden patch is free from weeds. When he meets with a problem that has to deal with economic conditions which he cannot understand or fathom, he shifts the responsibility onto God and resumes the even tenor of his way.—Milwaukee Leader.

Debs and Seidel

By ISRAEL SMITH CLARE, Author of Library of Universal History.

(Written for The Herald.)

There is a valiant Isador Seidel, Champion of our plows, More than the gallant knights of old; His name's Eugene V. Debs.

His heart beats for his fellowman, His's zealous for the right; He's always found right in the van Of Freedoms' latest fight.

He's one who does not have his price, His's proof gainst wife of palf; He can't be moved to sacrifice The proletaria for self.

The plutes can't swerve him from the path Of what he knows is just; He's not moved by Oppression's wrath, By gold or power lust.

And for his valiant running mate Is one now known so well As Mayor of Milwaukee great; His name's Emil Seidel.

Ye comrades of the proletaria, Who toil with brain or hand, Coms, rally to this worthy pair, To free our wage-slave hand.

law providing for nomination and election as follows: Any person elected will be in the field the greater part of the time during July and August, taking short trips prior to his final tour.

Stirring resolutions denouncing the persecutions of the members of the Industrial Workers' Union and labor officials at mine police of Elton and Giovannitti, leaders of the Lawrence strike, and the recent killing of 152 Russian miners and the wounding of 150 others, were passed by the Socialist national executive campaign committee of the Socialist party in joint session yesterday afternoon.

Protest on Labor Day. Labor day was selected to make a nation-wide protest against the persecution of Elton and Giovannitti and the campaign committee was instructed to prepare a resolution protesting against the arrest, imprisonment and trial of the two Lawrence labor leaders.

The resolution on the persecution of the labor officials of Indianapolis is as follows:

"Whereas, in the city of Indianapolis, Los Angeles and elsewhere, the federal and state courts are being used to persecute many organized workers throughout the United States;

"Whereas, the persecution is being conducted with the avowed purpose of wrecking and destroying the labor unions and

"Whereas, the charge that a nation-wide conspiracy to commit crime and violence in the labor organizations throughout the country is false, malicious and preposterous on its face; therefore,

"Be it resolved, that we, the national executive committee and the national campaign committee of the Socialist party, in joint session assembled, do hereby recommend that the Socialist locals throughout the country co-operate with the labor unions in holding protest meetings against the flagrant misuse of the federal and state powers in defense of the labor organizations and the working class."

Review Russian Situation.

On April 12, this year, the whole civilized world was appalled and horrified by an outrageous massacre of striking Russian miners, a massacre equaling those of Kishineff and St. Petersburg in its fiendish brutality.

The miners employed in the Leningrad gold fields, the richest in Russia, owned by a British syndicate, struck for an eight hour work day, an increase in wages, the abolition of an illegal truck system and other improvements in their condition of employment.

These conditions were so ridiculous that January last the Siberian department of mines officially complained of them to the department of commerce and industry against the illegal manner in which the mining syndicate treated its workers.

The strike was conducted in an orderly and peaceful manner, the striking miners going so far as to organize patrols for the protection of the property of their employers. Maddened by the loss of their dividends and the decline of the price of their stock, the directors of the British syndicate appealed to the Russian authorities for protection of their vested interests. In response to this appeal soldiers were at once dispatched to the strike and their first acts were to test the members of the strike committee. When the strikers gathered in mass meeting to protest against the arrest of their leaders and to demand their release, suddenly and without any provocation, they were charged by the soldiers. The order to fire was given and 165 miners were killed outright, and 150 others seriously wounded. When the members of the Russian duma questioned the minister of the interior concerning this outrage, he replied: "Workers have always been killed on similar occasions and they will continue to be killed."

Pass Resolution.

After reviewing the Russian situation the executive committee passed the following:

"In the name of the Socialist party we extend the sympathy of all our comrades to the bereaved relatives and friends of these victims of Russian despotism, and to these heroic comrades who still, in face of such terrible oppression and danger, are maintaining the world wide struggle for human freedom.

"We recognize that the capitalist class is not less brutal or ruthless than the capitalist class of Russia or any other country, only the degree of economic and political power which we have attained affording the workers the slightest protection against capitalist brutality. Nothing but the fullest development of that power will enable us to establish our freedom and to do our part in the great struggle of our class."

Copies of this resolution were sent to the International Socialist bureau, to the Socialist press and to the party membership through the regular channels.

The committee decided to open the National Socialist lyceum course on Jan. 12, instead of Feb. 1, as had formerly been planned.

son, who is eligible to vote, may become a candidate for nomination for either the office of mayor or councilman, by circulating a petition and securing as signers twenty-five voters of the city.

The two candidates for mayor receiving the highest numbers of votes are declared nominated and are placed upon the ballot at the regular election. The four candidates receiving the highest number of votes for councilmen are declared nominated and are placed upon the ballot at the regular election, two of whom are to be elected.

At the primary held in Superior on March 19, 1912, there were seven candidates (non-partisan) for mayor. Votes were cast for the various candidates as follows: Crumpton, 857; Harris (a Socialist), 771; Kane, 781; Konkel, 827; McRae, 846; Rosenthal, 917; and Van Buren, 1,261. The two receiving the highest number of votes, Van Buren and Konkel, were declared nominated, thereby eliminating all other candidates who under this law cannot run as independents at the regular election.

For councilman there were twenty-six candidates, the six receiving the highest number of votes were as follows: O'Hare, 1,222; Johnson, 1,023; Jensen (a Socialist), 714; Tomlinson, 889; McGuire, 668; Swanson (a Socialist), 604. The four highest being declared nominated, eliminated all the others except the first four mentioned.

The Socialist having only 18 votes to spare. Consequently the Socialists had only one man to vote for at the regular election. To write in the name of another candidate would not be a valid vote. Neither were the candidates allowed to run as independents. This law, in this respect, either nullifies existing election laws of the state, in cities adopting the commission plan, or it is unconstitutional."

EDWIN T. HARRIS.

A new edition of this book—*A new edition for this book—Help it along all you can.*

MILWAUKEE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PUBLISHING COMPANY

Poverty and Crime and Bloodshed

With the disappearance of our present system of struggling for material wealth, selfishness would be unknown, and we would be a barbershop of the past. Above all, poverty and crime would disappear, and their attending satellites—ignorance, sickness, and misery—would be known no more; and the latent germs of treason and truth would rise, like Phoenix, from the ruins of decaying superstition.

With all the progress that has been made in science, art and the invention and development of labor-saving machinery, no advantage has accrued to the laboring classes. They are in a worse position today than 20 years ago; more people are out of employment and poverty is more general; and never in the world's history has crime been so prolific or widespread as in the United States today. The subject matter of our daily papers is more than half a record of crime, and thousands of courts are kept busy trying criminal cases. This criminal class is not confined to the lower strata, but has invaded the precincts of education and refinement, and includes many who hold positions of trust in banks, insurance companies, large corporations, and houses. Bank robbing, forgery, defalcation, and many minor crimes are of almost daily occurrence among this class. No man is trusted, honesty is at a discount, and bonds are demanded to insure against dishonesty; and it only needs incentive and opportunity for the average individual to develop into a first-class criminal. Is this not a terrible state of affairs, when honesty has grown so cold and decadent that bonds are demanded to insure against its downfall? Is there not something radically wrong in a system which breeds dishonesty?

Crime is an affliction, the cause of which must be removed before we can hope to rid society of its presence. Punishment for crime is only local in effect, and does not in any sense reach or remove the cause; and laws might be made from now to eternity for the purpose of restricting crime, but

as long as competition for material wealth existed crime would flourish.

In the distorted features of humanity you can see the results of centuries of competition. Avarice, greed, brutality, cunning, and all the other hideous deformities of the mind are mirrored on the face of men, and depict with unfailing accuracy the mind within. Under the state of equal opportunity to work and full remuneration for value created, as would be the case under Socialism, every individual would put on a look of intelligence, genius, and beauty. The distorted features of crime and poverty with their furrows of anxiety, and care would fade away before the brilliant light of a new found happiness and freedom. The mind within would spring upward with a bound, when relieved of its load of oppression and the chains of slavery which have bound it down to a life of toil and drudgery. Then, in its free and natural condition, it would expand and blossom into inconceivable beauty, and power; and earth would become a heaven beyond the ideal imagination.

The mind is naturally virtuous, ambitious, and progressive. It is not made of material that turns backward. But, under our present business and social system, it is hemmed in by circumstances over which it has no individual control; and, there being no unity of action, the result is a chaotic system, which necessitates an endless system of laws. The only remedy is such a change as will recognize the rights of the community as a whole, anterior to the rights of individuals, which would remove the possibility of poverty. Without this change, all the power of the law and all the preaching and charity in the world can make no headway against the constantly increasing tendency to crime. Criminal acts are but symptoms of the diseased condition of our system; and it is a long road to travel for moralists who wish to eradicate disease, to try to do so by curing symptoms, when the cause itself is continually breeding its pestilential germs. Adapted from K. C. Gillette's "The Human Drift."

IT HAPPENED IN MILWAUKEE

Woozies Kill Child Welfare

"Non-partisans" in the common council swallowed Mayor Bading's child welfare program, bait, hook, and sinker, at the adjourned meeting of the council Monday night, indefinitely postponing the resolution calling for the purchase of the child welfare commission's report, and passing the ordinance which puts child welfare work under the health department, but limits the choice of the director to a physician.

The ordinance as passed, under suspension of the rules, makes it certain that Wilbur C. Phillips, the present secretary, will not be given charge of the work, which was exactly the mayor's purpose in insisting on a doctor. It eliminates also the child welfare column in the newspapers, as it provides for no editor, and the physicians for consultation and lectures at the child welfare station.

So far as the ordinance has any idea other than to kick Mr. Phillips out of a job because he chances to be a Socialist, it would seem to assume that the director is to serve almost entirely in his capacity as a doctor to be called in when a baby is sick. That the primary aim is to prevent babies from getting sick by properly educating the mothers is to a large extent lost sight of; neither did "non-partisan" aldermen grasp this fact in their defense of the mayor's position. The smallness of their view was well indicated by the argument of Alderman Schweifel who declared that the director of child welfare should be someone who would know when a child got the proper treatment.

Meyer is Roasted.

Socialist members of the council condemned the action of the mayor and his aids in narrowing child welfare work merely to satisfy a political grudge, and their negligence in providing for salaries of only \$75 a month for the nurses, and \$90 for the head nurse, out of which all expenses must be paid.

Alderman John Doerfer aroused the anger and discomfiture of the opposition and the applause of those in the audience by his discussion of Bading's part in the controversy.

"What was the attitude of his honor, the mayor, on this child welfare question?" he asked. "Was he honest, candid; did he search

least assured the continuance of child welfare work in some form.

On the question of buying the report of the child welfare commission Alderman Krzycki presented a minority resolution, urging its purchase for \$4,500, and pointed out that the resolution to pay the April and May salaries of the child welfare nurses having been declared illegal, to buy the report was the only way to pay all of the commission's debts. Controller Kotecki had refused to sign the Krzycki resolution, however, and the report was therefore not considered.

"The controller has stepped entirely out of his authority in refusing to sign this minority report," declared Alderman Aldridge.

"In view of the fact that the city attorney's office has declared this method of paying the commission's debts legal, and in view of the fact that there are available funds for the purpose, the controller has, by his action taken upon himself the entire responsibility in this matter."

Debate was choked off on motion of the previous question by Alderman Flebrant, and the resolution indefinitely postponed. Kaney, Kiehl, and Szczerbinski voted with the Socialists against postponement, and Alderman Bechtner, who voted affirmatively, declared he did so only because he thought a better way would be found to pay the money.

Playing Politics.

"If the mayor was seeking the truth, it was his place to call in the members of the commission," broke in Alderman Aldridge. "They stood ready and willing to give him whatever information was desired, and the secretary of the commission attempted to lay it before him. The mayor was openly charged with playing politics to his face in committee meetings. Did he deny it? His stand has been entirely political, and by his attendance at committee meetings, by secret caucus, and by other means he has gone out of his way to influence the council in this matter."

Alderman Krzycki referred to the Bading "big stick" which had lined up the "non-partisans" in secret conference, and inquired bluntly:

"Are you going to follow your honest convictions, or are you going to follow the big stick?"

Alderman Schweifel and Fass delivered themselves of impassioned orations in which they charged the Socialists of the last council with having passed the child welfare proposition up to them after having been unable to solve it. They also blamed the Socialist minority for the present delay, though why the Socialists should be blamed for their blunders was not exactly clear.

Socialists Support Work.

Alderman Bechtner alone of the "non-partisans" spoke for the minority report on child welfare, comparing it with the Bading ordinance. On the vote to substitute the minority for the majority report, Bechtner and Kaney voted with the Socialists, and on the final vote to adopt the majority report all voted in the affirmative, Alderman Aldridge explained the Socialist vote by saying that, bad as it was, it at

Gus was so surprised when he saw Hans he almost dropped the coffee pot which he had in his hand.

"Well, I'll be hanged," said he. "So you're here and you want to go for sure?"

"Yes, I want to go; and didn't I promise to come?" said Hans.

"Well, put your clothes in there," pointing to a berth, "and help me set the table for breakfast." Hans had often helped his mother in the kitchen at home, because she

The Folly of the Syndicalist Tactics

A Study of the Direct Action Movement and Its Failure in France—Raise in Wages Retarded—Individual Versus Mass Action Discarded in Other Countries Years Ago—French Syndicalism on Its Deathbed—Direct Action a Labor Movement "Childhood Disease!"

[From the Preface to Paul Louis' History of the French Trade Unions, by Gustav Eckstein, the well-known Marxist.]

(Continued from last week.)

However, the direct action of the syndicalists did not stop short here, for they realized after all, that law-making, good, bad or indifferent is too powerful a factor in life to be ignored.

Ordinary human beings try to win the suffrage, or if they have it they send representatives of their views and interests to the lawmaking bodies. However, syndicalism has only contempt for this bourgeois and democratic nation which leads into the political swamp.

The elected representative, according to syndicalism, is in possession of power of his own, which raises him above his former comrades, and he must therefore turn in the political whirlpool, which is at best an aggregate of compromises.

Political parties are not real representatives of distinct classes, but merely so many different cliques fighting each other, to gain the control of the state for their personal benefit.

Parliamentarism creates the business politician, who controls all parties.

The Social-Democratic party, for instance, is not proletarian, neither its administrators nor its parliamentary group.

The party consists of bourgeois lawyers, authors and other intellectuals, besides the workingmen. The latter find their interests clearly expressed only through their unions, which consist of proletarians, have proletarian aims and carry on the class struggle actually against the bourgeois and the state both.

This state the Socialists aim to conquer, the syndicalist however desires to destroy the state.

Syndicalists take no part in elections nor in parliamentary affairs, they know only direct action, which consists of outside pressure, to-wit: street demonstration and similar manifestations of the proletarian sentiment. This is said to have an effect upon lawmaking bodies so that they make laws friendly to labor.

This kind of direct action is to be carried on without union officers in charge. As a matter of fact, there is a strong distrust against a union bureaucracy amongst the syndicalists, who for a long time paid union officials were dispensed with.

The main weapon of the union is the strike, and according to Puget, the strike is by no means an evil. The strike shows the revolutionary sentiment and is a form of partial expropriation of the capitalist.

Here we have the basic of contention amongst the syndicalists. Formerly many syndicalists objected to a partial strike as being detrimental to the general strike. Some syndicalists objected, because being followers of Proudhon, they maintained that a raise in wages results always in a raise in prices, whereby the advantages gained would be lost again.

Others again objected to a partial strike, because it would deviate the attention of the revolutionary proletarian from the idea of a general strike.

The method came from England, where it is known as "Ca' canny." In France it has received particular care and attention, after it had received official sanction in 1897, at the convention of Toulouse.

As the original and primitive form of slow work was applicable only at day wages, sabotage was developed to be applied to piece work also. The workingmen began to make mistakes, and furnished poor work to injure their employers. More effective was sabotage by the running of implements

tended to lead a partial strike over into a general strike.

Thereby a strike is supposed to have an entirely different meaning in France, than it has elsewhere. A strike is much less a means to obtain shorter hours, raise in wages, etc., although these demands are also being made.

The main object of the strike, according to the syndicalist point of view, is the awakening of the revolutionary spirit. Therefore a strike in itself becomes always desirable to the syndicalists.

In case of success the class and self-consciousness of the proletariat is strengthened. In case of failure, the bitter feeling of defeat reinforces the revolutionary spirit.

A strike is supposed to be made without calculation, and never for the benefit of a labor aristocracy.

Syndicalism aims to emancipate all of the proletariat, and in order to win this result, it is necessary to keep the unions. These will always be the power of the laboring class. The great mass will never be in favor of resolute action, but the masses can be carried away by an energetic minority.

Democracy rests upon the dullness of people. Syndicalism appeals to the energetic ones, to the self-sacrificing spirit and the boldness of the strong.

Here, says Puget, you have the immense difference in the methods of syndicalism and democracy. The latter, by means of the franchise, turns the leadership over to the non-class conciousness, to the reactionaries or their representatives. The minorities, however, are smothered. The syndicalist method, however, has the opposite result.

The initiative is with the open-minded people, the revolutionary, and all men of this spirit are asked to take part in the action. The union (syndicalist) need therefore not embrace all members of a craft, nor gather big funds, nor offer assistance to out-of-work and sick members, but the union is for the purpose of strengthening the revolutionary spirit.

The syndicalists oppose all reforms, which would weaken the fighting spirit.

The French unions propose to make their struggles effective through street demonstrations, through the boycott against employers and strike breakers both, through the union label, and finally through sabotage.

Sabotage originated in the principle: "for poor pay, poor work." The employer has the aim to get as much labor for as little pay as possible. The workingman meets this by furnishing less labor for less wage.

This, of course, is nothing new. If the workers product is reduced to a greater degree than the cut in pay amounts to, then only does the action of the syndicalist workingman become a weapon.

The method came from England, where it is known as "Ca' canny." In France it has received particular care and attention, after it had received official sanction in 1897, at the convention of Toulouse.

As the original and primitive form of slow work was applicable only at day wages, sabotage was developed to be applied to piece work also. The workingmen began to make mistakes, and furnished poor work to injure their employers. More effective was sabotage by the running of implements

and tools. Sabotage is the accepted policy of syndicalism, part and parcel of syndicalist action, but as the rule of forcible destruction of machinery, Railroads and telegraphs are the main objects to be accomplished.

The syndicalists declare enthusiasm more necessary to win strike than money. Undoubtedly enthusiasm is most necessary to the unions in their struggles, as it is also true, that big funds alone, cannot decide a long drawn labor fight. Funds may even become a check and a purpose in itself.

Instead of a means towards an end, however, the greatest amount of enthusiasm will not avail against natural wants. The savings of the strikers are soon used up. Voluntary collections do not go very far. Our syndicalists, these free of bourgeois society, must turn to the bourgeois municipalities for assistance. Through the latter Socialists aldermen they ask, and very often obtain support for the women and children of those who are out of work.

Since on account of their policies the resources of the syndicalist remain limited, their strikes must be won at the very beginning. A lengthy strike has not only no chance of success, but such strike means for the syndicalist union a long chain of humiliations, since the union can offer no sort of support, it must end a strike very quickly.

The syndicalist union has only one weapon which demonstrates conclusively its bourgeois character, and this is the riot. Nearly every little strike in France leads to rioting. Street demonstrations mean a great

(Continued to 11th page.)

Wisconsin

State secretary's financial report for May: Due from state: RECEIPTS.

Brauch No. One of Richland Center. 25.00

One of Milwaukee branch of 1.00

One of Fond du Lac branch of 2.00

One of Milwaukee branch of 1.00

Every Saturday



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FOR PRESIDENT
Eugene V. Debs
OF INDIANA
FOR VICE-PRESIDENT
Emil Seidel
OF WISCONSIN

CLEVELAND, O., June 21.—Earnings under 3-cent fares for May by the Cleveland Railroad company were the highest in its history. The report submitted to the directors on Saturday showed an actual surplus of \$32,000. The books surplus was \$34,000. A small deficit had been expected.

The highest previous earnings of the lines in a single month was an actual surplus of \$14,000, made in March. The book surplus that month was only \$23,000. In April there was an actual deficit of \$23,000 and a book deficit of \$26,000.

May earnings indicate that the 3-cent fare is assured for the rest of the year. The interest fund now stands at \$440,000.

Syndicalist Tactics

(Continued from 3d page.)

deal in the proletarian movement, especially on the political field. They show the forces at hand, and demonstrate the determination and the courage of the participants, especially, if resistance is to be overcome. Street demonstrations that show a powerful strength encourage greatly the adherents of the proletarian cause, and all the opponents with respect and even with fear. However, we must not overrate the effect of street manifestations. As long as the ruling class has confidence in the power of the government, they will not be intimidated through street manifestations, be they ever so powerful, not to mention street rioting.

It is different with the small bourgeois, who live amongst the workers. The captain of industry, residing in the aristocratic quarter, who does not know his men even by sight, is supremely indifferent to riots in the working men's quarters. What matters it to him, whether workers and soldiers fight? With the small capitalist and artisan the aspect is different. A riot endangers his life and property. The atmosphere of hatred is around him, and if police and soldiers interfere, he is likely to get the worst of it. He mixes with the proletarians in shops and saloons, so does his wife and child in other places, where neither police nor militia is able to protect him. The proletarian of the modern and well organized industries, uses the great street manifestation, which require discipline and

careful organization. We have seen these demonstrations in Berlin and Vienna. Street riots are the weapons of the nationalists of Prague and the syndicalists of France. They bear the stamp of the little hooligans element.

Practically direct action is limited to street riots, and the importance attached to them by the syndicalists is rooted in the endeavor to end a strike as quickly as possible, since a prolonged strike spells inevitable disaster.

The same with sabotage.

The general meaning of the word sabotage is any forcible destruction or injury done to the means of production. Self-sacrificing union members imagine to further the cause of labor by cutting telegraph wires or tearing up the railroad track. Quite often, however, detectives and police spies demonstrate such self-sacrifice. The syndicalists in the act of sabotage, act as individuals, independently of the masses which they pity, and which they look down upon. The individual sacrifices himself for the toiling masses by doing things, which may cost him dearly.

The Socialist, however, acts as a proletarian, who knows that his strength lies in the action of the masses alone. The syndicalist is of the flesh and the body of the small bourgeois, to whom individual action is everything.

To be sure, wherever the unions are as weak as they were until quite recently in France, where in case of a strike the unions cannot render any assistance whatsoever, individual self help tries to make up for the lack of strength of the organization.

In spite of all the declamations of the syndicalist leaders, that union funds are useless and of an evil influence, they could not deny in the face of practical experience, that industrial warfare against employers cannot be carried on without funds. They endeavored, therefore, to get such funds. A ratio of the membership fees resulted in a rapid drop of numbers.

The French syndicalists derided the English and German unions on account of their alleged attempt to beat the capitalist money bag with the money bag of the workers, and boasted themselves, that their methods had been the most successful.

Griffiths pointed to statistics published in *Le Temps* (capitalist paper) which showed that in England 31 per cent of all strikes ended with a victory for organized labor, 21 per cent with a settlement. Germany's corresponding figures are 22 and 32 per cent; Austria's, 19 and 30 per cent; in France, however, of 100 strikes, 25 were decided in favor of the strikers, and 35 per cent ended in a settlement. France, according to these statistics, ranks behind England and before Germany. Boasting is consequently out of place.

(Concluded next week.)

To Spread the Gospel of Emancipation

PLAN NATIONAL EMANCIPATION DAY HOLDING 5,000 MEETINGS SIMULTANEOUSLY Campaign Manager Barnes has placed before the national campaign committee a plan to hold a National Campaign of Emancipation day during the presidential struggle, with the 5,000 party branches of the Socialist party simultaneously holding 5,000 different campaign meetings on the same day all over the land. The date of this special day has not yet been determined but may be set before the committee here finishes its session. It is thought that plans can be made to get the economic organizations of labor especially interested in this plan.

CHICAGO, Illinois.—Plans for the distribution of 37,000,000 pieces of literature by 800 volunteer distributors over the nation in the pending Socialist campaign is one of the matters that National Campaign Manager J. Mahlon Barnes has put before the national campaign committee in session here.

Campaign Manager Barnes is enthusiastic in outlining his ideas on this subject and hopes to make it one of the big features of the Socialist presidential struggle.

"My idea is to send out a call for 200 volunteer literature distributors," says Barnes, "persons who can afford to take a vacation of from ten weeks to three months; the campaign committee guaranteeing them only enough to meet their expenses from day to day."

Two of these distributors would be assigned to each congressional district and to each state. The campaign committee guaranteeing them only enough to meet their expenses from the work of the Socialist party in this year's campaign.

Helen Keller a Socialist

SCHENECTADY, N. Y., June 21.—Major Lunn's action in reserving a position on his personally created board of public welfare for Miss Helen Keller has aroused deep interest here. Miss Keller is expected to arrive in the fall and take up a permanent residence here with her lifelong teacher, companion and friend, Mrs. John Macey, wife of the private secretary to Mayor Lunn. They are now residing at Wrentham, the Macey home.

Two months ago Mayor Lunn organized his welfare board for the purpose of considering questions not falling under the jurisdiction of any regularly constituted municipal department, such as tenement conditions, playgrounds, etc. On May 1 John Macey, a writer, accepted the appointment left vacant by the resignation of Walter Lippman as the mayor's private secretary. It was after Macey assumed his duties that Mayor Lunn, whose prolific innovations have almost turned Schenectady upside down, conceived the idea of asking the blind and deaf woman to accept a position on the board.

Fitted for Work. "Miss Keller's opinions would be extremely valuable to the board," said Mayor Lunn today. "The board has to do mainly with the legitimate life of the people, and I think Miss Keller is specially fitted, and, indeed, should devote her life to just this kind of work."

"Can Miss Keller hold converse with a number of persons, such as would be demanded of her as a member of the welfare board?" was asked of Mr. Macey.

"Certainly. She was a member of the Massachusetts state commission for the blind for a year and a half," he said. "It wouldn't be necessary for my wife to be present at all, if

Debs' Opening Speech at Chicago

Friends, Comrades and Fellow Workers:

"We are today entering upon a national campaign of the profoundest interest to the working class and the country. In this campaign there are but two parties and but one issue. There is no longer even the pretense of difference between the so-called Republican and Democratic parties. They are substantially one in what they stand for. They are opposed to each other on no question of principle but purely in a contest for the spoils of office.

"To the workers of the country these two parties in name are one in fact. They, or rather it, stands for capitalism, for the private ownership of the means of subsistence, for the exploitation of the workers, and for wage-slavery.

"Both of these old capitalist class machines are going to pieces. Having outlived their time they have become corrupt and worse than useless and now present a spectacle of political degeneracy never before witnessed in this or any other country. Both are torn by dissension and ripe with disintegration. The evolution of the forces underlying them is tearing them from their foundations and sweeping them to inevitable destruction.

Love for Country.

"How far have we, the workers, succeeded in getting laws favorable to our interests? When and where could we command sufficient respect of our power to compel courts and judges to define the constitution to mean what it did not mean? When did we ever shoot upon the R.E.D. WHITE AND BLUE?

"They say that we do not love our country or its institutions. We must believe that they would have us believe that they do. Is that the reason that they have manipulated the legislatures to aid them in gaining possession of the industry, the mines and mineral deposits, the timber and forests, the riparian rights of our water fronts and the water power of our streams?

"Let us love for our country that compels them to sell a portion of it every time they sell a ton of steel or cargo of coal?

"Was it love of our country that let them sell embalmed beef to be fed to our brave soldier boys when they were on the battlefield fighting for what they held to be the cause of their

country? Was it love for the country that let them sell to our country flayed steers plated for our navy?

"Where have we ever witnessed our country like that? Where have we ever placed in jeopardy our country in its most trying hours of war?

Is Badge of Servility.

"How can any intelligent, self-respecting wage-worker give his support to either of these corrupt capitalist parties? The emblem of a capitalist party on a workingman is the badge of his ignorance, his servility and his slavery.

"Marshaled in battle array against these corrupt capitalist parties is the young, virile, revolutionary Socialist party, the party of the awakening working class, whose red banners, inscribed with the inspiring shibboleth of class-conscious solidarity, proclaim Socialism and the emancipation of the workers of the world.

"Contrast these two political forces and the parties through which these forces and concrete expression! On the one side are the trusts, the corporations, the bankers, the railroads, the plutocrats, the politicians, the speculators, the ballot-box stuffers, the repeaters, the parasites, the rentiers and job-hunters of all descriptions, the corruptian funds, the fifth, sixth and eleventh gentry of ruling class politics; the press and pulpit and college, all wearing capitalist collar, and all in concert applauding its plundering and profligate regime.

"On the other side are the workers and producers of the nation coming into consciousness of their interests and their power as a class, filled with the spirit of solidarity and the ideal with the now-born power that throbs within them; scorning further affiliation with the parties that so long used them to their own degradation and looking trustfully to themselves and to each other for relief from oppression and for emancipation from the power which has so long enslaved them.

Prejudice Melts Away.

"The message of Socialism, which a few years ago was spurned by these people, falls today upon eager and receptive minds. Their prejudice has melted away. They are now prepared to cast their fortunes with the only political party that proposes a change of system and the only party that has a right to appeal to the intelligence of the people.

"The political beginning of the So-

cialist party in this country is now distinctly recognized even by its most implacable enemies. A single Socialist

member has been sufficient to arouse the whole nation to the vital issues of Socialism which confronts it. Victor L. Berger, as the first and until now the only representative of labor, has had the power, single-handed and alone, to compel the respectful consideration of the American congress, for the first time in its history, of the rights and interests of the working class. To be sure, the capitalists do not relish this and, as they have consolidated Republican and Democratic forces in Berger's district to defeat him, with the rising tide of Socialism overwhelming them, both will only triumphantly sustain Berger but a score of others to make the next congress resound with the demands of the working class.

"Now is the time for the workers of this nation to develop and assert their political as well as their economic power, to demonstrate their unity and solidarity.

Press Is Vital Factor.

"The press of the party is the most vital factor in its educational propaganda and the workers are everywhere being aroused to the necessity of building up a working class press to champion their cause and to discuss current issues from their point of view for the enlightenment of the masses.

"Comrades and friends, the campaign before us gives us our supreme opportunity to reach the American people. They have but to know the true meaning of Socialism to accept its principles and the true mission of the Socialist party to give it their support. Let us all unite as we never have before to plant the issue of Socialism squarely before the nation. For years they have been deceived, misled and betrayed, and they are now hungering for the true gospel of relief and the true message of emancipation.

"This is our year in the United States; Socialism is in the very air we breathe. It is the grandest shibboleth that ever inspired men and women to action in this world. In the horizon of labor it shines as a new risen sun and it is the hope of all humanity.

"Onward, comrades, onward in the struggle, until triumphant Socialism proclaims an Emancipated Race and a New World!"

Is This a Glorious Civilization?

By R. A. DAGUE.

(Written for The Herald.)

We are often told by the rich and well-to-do people that this is a glorious Christian civilization and that no one has any good cause for complaint in these United States especially, and that the unemployed are extravagant, or

make shirts at six cents each, and tens of thousands of pale, tender girls working like abject slaves in cold damp basements and dark attics, "ruining their eyesight and wrecking their health toiling for cruel taskmasters for a mere pittance. A steady stream of these girls, from necessity to eat, is constantly flowing into the hells of infamy of the great cities.

In London it is worse. Thousands of men, women and children now in London sleep on park benches, in obscure doorways, on the ground in back alleys—anywhere they can lie down, and they live from swill barrels and scraps of fruit they can pick up on the streets while the nobility who never earned a dollar, but who have robbed the working people, live in a splendor that eclipses the extravagance of the kings of ancient Babylon.

On the one hand we see the very rich, arrogant, self-righteous and profoundly selfish, thanking God that they are so prosperous and so wealthy. They gamble on Wall street; they water stocks; they monopolize food stuffs and clothing, and all the means of production; they live by usury and extortion; they grind the faces of the poor; they enslave little children in their factories and mines; they reduce the wages of their employees to the lowest possible

amount; they reap where they have not sown and gather where they have not earned, and then in blazing diamonds and elegant apparel, with uplifted heads, and with scorn on their lips for the exploited poor, they go to their elegant church pews to thank God that they enjoy such manifold blessings and to listen with gratifying approval to the flattery of a minister whom they pay to ease their consciences.

The industrial system which pours into the laps of a few shrewd schemers vast mountains of wealth while the working people suffer and perish, must give place to a juster system. Socialism would establish a Co-operative Commonwealth under which such inequalities as those above mentioned could not exist. I hope every boy and girl who reads this will DO all they can to bring about the triumph of Socialism, so that we may have a genuine civilization instead of a bogus one.

In Iowa.

"Socialism is writ large in letters of fire over earth and sky. It would be as easy to turn the planets backward in their course as to stay this mighty movement and prevent its final consummation."—The Rev. G. G. Hamilton.

(SEE PAGE 3)

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OUR YOUNG FOLKS

walk, returning to the sew shortly after sunset.

The captain was still ashore so Gus put Hans in a berth and waited for him. About midnight he came considerably the worse for liquor and Hans had quite a time quieting him and getting him in his bunk.

The cabin of the Milton was a rather primitive one. It was about eight by fourteen feet with a cook stove in the forward end, a table in the middle and three berths or bunks for the crew on each side so that there was sleeping room for six. The bunks or berths were alike so many shelves one on top of the other.

Hans was awakened next morning at 6 o'clock by the noise of the men throwing cordwood from the dock on to the deck and as he had gone to sleep in his clothes, that is with his pants and shirt on, he was on deck in a jiffy. When Gus saw him he gave him a bucket and told him to go to a pump up the dock and get some water to make coffee, because the water in the harbor was not clean.

When he had finished, Gus had breakfast set the table and afterwards when breakfast was over wash the dishes.

It was a fine day and as the crew of the Milton had nothing to do with the loading of the cordwood, Gus told Hans to come along and both went forward on the forecastle where there was a little hatch that when opened disclosed a small room or space where the spare sails were kept. Hans helped Gus haul out several sails and Gus took a staysail that needed repairing. The roping near the cringle where the sheets are hooked in, was torn and several seams had been ripped. Gus and Hans took the sail off on to the roof of the cabin, where they were out of the way of the men loading.

Gus got some twine, wax, sail needles and a palm, together with a sort of bench to sit on and then began to mend the staysail. When he was well started he cut off a good piece from his plug, shoved it into his mouth and began to talk to Hans.

"Now Hans," he said, "You must not think of being a sailor yet. You see you are still too young and you must go to school some more. Why you are only ten years old and have got much to learn and then when you want to be a sailor you must begin here on the lakes, because here you will never be a real sailor. You must go to the sea, to the salt water and then you should go in the navy and become an officer. Why, a boy like you who is born in America has a big chance. You can perhaps be admiral some day."

Would Be Public Speaker.

"That Miss Keller is not yet satisfied with her wonderful achievement's, but hopes to become a public speaker, was told today by Mr. Macey. It experiments being made by Mr. Charles White, the New England secretary of Music, Boston, are successful. Miss Keller, very thin and hardly audible in a large room, will be cultivated so that she can deliver lectures from public platforms."

"Dr. White visits Miss Keller every week," explained Mr. Macey, "and when the conservatory of music closes for the summer he will devote all his time to her. If this works out all right she will not have to stay in Schenectady; she will go all about, delivering her lectures on Socialism."

"She certainly is. She's a born proselytizer and is only happy when winning converts."

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